105, 113, 131, 142, 157, 161, 177, 262, 291, 302, 304, 721, Apayao OA5

[For information on location, physical type, personality, population, acculturation, diet, clothing, toilet, tatooing and headhunting, see 58: Barton, OA1 Philippines, category 116, pp. 300-301.]

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181 supernatural for the time to come. Nature, however, is not theirs
771 to direct; they know this all too well, and so why bother about the
789 future. Besides, there will always be something to eat, there is no
152 winter in the tropics, vegetation is luxuriant, and the Isneg are not
777 particular. Nature is ruled by the supernatural, not by human beings. All the latter can do is to influence the supernatural. Man has no direct control over rain and sunshine, sickness and death, but the spirits have; and these have to be moved to pity or to be frightened into submission, as the case may be.

753 An Isneg will say: "What is the use of medicine? If it has been
181 decreed that a person will die, he will do so, medicines or no medi-
777 cines". But nevertheless he will comply with all possible prescrip-
152 tions of the shaman, and if the person dies notwithstanding all
771 precautions have been taken to protect him from the spirits, then: "It was his fate", and that ends the matter.

777 If the locusts are devastating the fields, an Isneg will resign himself
181 to his fate. He has worked diligently, he has observed all possible
152 omens and has broken no taboos; why should he worry, why should
731 he try to destroy these pests. The Government will force him to do
177 so of course, and he will obey as long as he remains under the eagle eye of his rulers, but he will say: "What is the use; if we destroy these, others will take their place, provided it be decreed that way: and if not, it is perfectly useless to tire ourselves for nothing".

777 Such and similar states of mind are not confined to the Isneg. I
181 remember very well how on a certain occasion, in 1914, I was assisting
152 an Iloko Christian on his deathbed. Wanting to impress upon him
771 the great necessity of a deep sorrow for his sins, I described to him
177 as vividly as possible the horrors of hell, and told him how anxious he
781 should be to avoid an eternity of such pains and torments; but his only answer was an act of absolute conformity to the Divine Will: "If God wants me to go to hell, I am perfectly willing". And that man was far from wanting to be disrespectful to the Deity; his words simply illustrated how little he cared about what the future had in store for him. Pagan Isneg lay the blame for every untoward happening, either merely on fate, or on the intervention of some ill-intentioned imp, while a happy turn of events is usually considered to be the result either of fate pure and simple, or of some special clever means by which the machinations of the spirits have been counteracted. Nowadays the Government, the Ibanag, as they call all Christians, has generally to bear the blame of any public calamity

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. Birth and Infancy

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. Pregnancy and Gestation

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian Ilokо or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ciawanâ-*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *âma-dâ*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

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577 771 portant and whenever it is customary to do so; in a word, you should lead a good religious life. Indeed what can you expect from a man who does not live according to his convictions, or rather to the convictions of the generality of his tribesmen? Do you think that the spirits will leave you at rest if you do not do what is necessary, either to propitiate them or to put them to flight? Do you think you will be fortunate in your enterprises if you fail to observe, either the usual signs that will prevent you from entering upon dangerous enterprises, or the taboos which custom has told you not to transgress? It would be considered as the acme of bad behavior to live as a freethinker in matters religious. You may say you do so to a stranger, you may appear not to believe our laws any more, when in the presence of an Ibanag,[2] otherwise he might laugh at you; but among us these things are very serious and they should be observed by all means. If you are a true Isneg, believe as an Isneg and practise your religion".

577 177 771 The Isneg, however, seem to be much less fanatical in matters religious than the Kankanay, the Bontok Igorot, and others. I have known Kankanay men to whip their Christian children for refusing to attend heathen sacrifices; such things would rarely, if ever, happen here. I shall come back to this again when comparing theory with practice.

577 829 721 "Headhunting is a glorious practice. If you are a real Isneg, you should take a few heads during your lifetime or at least help your companions in doing so. Never forego the occasion of participating in a raid planned by your friends, whether into the lowlands among Christian Iloko and Kagayan, or among Negritos, Kalinga and other Isneg at enmity with your people. If you have the opportunity to take the head of an enemy unawares, be it that of a woman or child, there you have a splendid occasion of becoming a *mĕñal*, a brave, without too much trouble and with very little danger. Not everybody has that chance, not everybody will become a brave, but you should at least try your very best to be one. What a glory

101 192 104 [2] Ibanag is the language of the Kagayan, but in an Isneg mouth the term means "anybody who is not an Isneg". What we express by saying "to become a Christian" is translated by the Isneg as "to become an Ibanag". It is almost impossible to convince them that an Isneg can become a Christian and remain an Isneg. Similar ideas obtain among the Christian tribes: they call themselves *Christiano* whatever tribe they belong to, and all pagans in their eyes are Igorot, Kalinga, Itneg or Isneg; once baptized the latter have ceased to be anything like that; they have become Christians pure and simple.

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for you if you can show the girls an *andóri* tattooed on your arm; will they not be eager to get the attentions of such a warrior? Will they not vie with one another in making themselves attractive and pleasing to him? Such a man will be renowned all over the country, and at every public *sáy-ám* sacrifice he will recount his brave deeds. Even when he is tottering with old age, people will respect him as they will nobody else, and after he has long been dead, his name will still be pronounced with reverence and given to children as a remembrance of his great deeds, so that his spirit will continue to live on earth in the members of the younger generation who are called by his name. In the realm of the dead his soul will live encircled by the same aureole of a glorious and immortal fame. It is true that actually you can hardly aspire to such great glory: strangers have taken possession of the land, people who know nothing about Isneg heroism and justice, people who would punish you for such an act of courage, people who do not understand that an enemy has no rights, that his head is acceptable to the spirits. But we of the older generation, we at least should not abandon our glorious traditions; and if it might please the spirits or an all-powerful fate to return to us our lost freedom and rid us of constabulary and judges, then, yes, you should not forget that you are an Isneg, that a head is the most precious offering that you can make to the spirits, that taking the head of an enemy, whoever he be, whether dead or alive, will give you a crown not to be equalled by anything else. You know how often these last years we have been visited by locusts and famine. Whose fault is it? Nobody else's but the cursed Ibanags': they forbid us to propitiate the spirits who are craving for human heads, and what can the *anito* do but punish us for our negligence?"

A couple of years ago, a poor Negrito, Kalisto by name, who had just escaped from jail, from which he would have been released very soon as he was innocent of the crime imputed to him, was killed at Tawit by an Isneg, who gave the pygmy's threatening attitude as a pretext for killing him. But after the body had been disinterred and examined, it was found out that a part of the skull was lacking and that it had been severed from the rest by a cutting instrument: this proved to everybody's satisfaction that the case was a headhunting affair and nothing else.

"Every Isneg child should be obedient to its parents. As long as you are unmarried, you have the bounden duty to comply with the wishes of your parents, and not only with those of your parents, but

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Not only the absence of initiation ceremonies, but even that of any customs that might aim to teach or mold moral conduct, as dieting, fasting and so on, is a great drawback to the efficient training of Isneg youth. I repeat it, young people are taught to avoid hardship much more than to get inured to it, and this seemingly has much to do with keeping our Isneg in habitual indolence, and rendering them easily dejected at the smallest difficulty or the slightest pain.

Here now I shall enumerate the virtues and acts of virtue that are formally taught according to the Isneg moral code, and those that are less formally taught, and shall give a few supplementary details. It should be stated once for all that all, or almost all, training in this line is done directly; I mean that the Isneg rarely, if ever, use stories or fables in order to inculcate the principles that regulate moral conduct. Some of their tales might perhaps have such a very desirable effect, but the generality have not, and I really wonder if, even in the case of those that have a kind of moral attached to them, the Isneg really use them for the purpose of teaching right behavior. The tales seem to be much more a means of teaching the youngsters the traditions of the race, especially with reference to spirits and kindred subjects, and very often also they are simply a pastime for people who have few means of diversion and amusement.

The teaching of religious practices has been explained at length in a preceding paragraph, and here I have nothing to add on that subject. Headhunting as a duty has rarely been taught ex professo: all the traditions of the people and the paramount importance of this custom in the life of an Isneg tended formerly to impress it very strongly upon the mind of the child. Actually of course the taking of heads, which is fast disappearing, has no more the same appeal to the members of the younger generation; so this part of the Isneg moral code is bound to lapse sooner or later, provided the Government can keep the people in control for a sufficiently long period of time. This is what happened with the Ibaloy, among whom by this time headhunting is an unknown quantity, and with the Kankanay, among whom the same custom is almost completely rooted out.

Obedience and respect for their elders is very formally taught to the children, not only by father and mother, but also by other members of the older generation. Besides small boys and girls learn by practical experience the necessity of obeying and respecting their elders, as it is not a rare occurrence to see a whipping follow in the wake of a transgression of this most important duty of a child.

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In short, Isneg religious and magical practices are still firmly adhered to by the generality of old men and women, while with the younger set they tend to be considered as mere superstitions, that are observed more through fear than through conviction, just as among the Christian Iloko, many remnants of the old native religion are still to be found scattered all over the country in the form of superstitious practices. There can be no doubt about the fact that in Apayaw the way is open for the Christian religion to supplant the old native one: the former is considered as a step forward by almost every Isneg, and practically nobody objects to the young people embracing it; in fact, most of the old people themselves insist on having their children baptized and even instructed in the doctrine of the Christians.

The duty of headhunting has perforce to fall into desuetude, as the vigilance of the authorities prevents it from being practised, at least on a large scale. With reference to isolated cases, which do not fail at times to appear sporadically, the guilty parties rarely escape due punishment, as the Isneg live too much in very small scattered communities to be able to hide them successfully. The older people still foster the desire of freedom in their hearts of course, but the younger generation will little by little forget all about it, and the usual ceremonies, although persevering in the form of superstitions, will very soon have lost their significance. Enough already has been said about this, and it is needless to repeat it all over again.

In the question of obedience and respect due to parents and elders, the Isneg usually conform with their teaching on the subject, and the same may be said with reference to loyalty either to friends or to people who are not at enmity with them. Downright disobedience is really very rare, even in the case of grown-up boys and girls, and respect for older people perseveres all through life. A few isolated cases may be encountered occasionally, but they are certainly the exception. Actually of course the same loyalty cannot always be observed as before, namely participation in headhunting expeditions and so on, and now and then a few members of the younger generation will even stand by the Government against malefactors of their own people; but in general it may be said that respect for the law has not yet attained such an ascendency as to cause an Isneg to be a traitor to his friends.

The practice of revenge has also necessarily suffered an important transformation. The duty of revenge remains intact though, and it

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SCHEMA II

Passing the mountains between Bayag and Kabugaw

(B)	Bayag:	*makbisi-*	*agoxńp*	*xoxó*
(M)	Dangla:	*magbisi-*	*ayońp* [5]	*oó*
(M)	Kabugaw:	*magbisi-*	*axońp*	*oó*
(M)	Tawit:	*magbisi*	*axońp* [4]	*oó*

In this connection I should like to warn the reader that the text of a given informant does not always and in every particular render faithfully his own special dialect or branch of a dialect, and this for the following reasons:

1. On the part of the informant:

Communication between the different parts of the subprovince is increasing at a rapid pace; and so, except for old women (who are rarely available informants for investigators) and a few exceptionally backward persons (from whom no reliable information can be obtained), the Isneg tends to adopt, at least occasionally, a pronunciation which is not strictly his own. At first, marriage and marriage ceremonies were almost the only means of bringing together persons who pronounced their gutturals in a different way. Later on, however, more extensive travelling brought male representatives of every district into contact with one another. This was mostly due to the gradual elimination of headhunting raids and, although in a less marked degree, to the building of better roads. Now again, with the opening of schools in the larger centers and the introduction of compulsory education, boys and girls flock together from all parts of the subprovince, and differences in pronunciation tend to become obliterated, or rather, the language actually spoken by most of them offers to the ear a confused medley of gutturals.

Besides, an educated Isneg, and, incidentally, a good many others who can lay no claim to education, very often affect the use of Iloko words and sentences, pronounced as in Iloko (*x* none, glottal catch rare), or at least affect the pronunciation of the gutturals as in Iloko, although using pure Isneg words.

[5] This is the *y* of the Anthropos alphabet. For the sake of uniformity, however, and to avoid confusion (as we use the sign *y* for another consonant), we always write *x* for all texts in M of the O dialect, even for those that originated in Dangla and surrounding villages.

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is who finds a means to keep the wolf from the door. On occasions like these, it is clearly apparent how training and experience have rendered the Isneg girl fit for meeting almost any kind of emergency, while the customary indolence of the male makes him an easy prey to downheartedness, so much so that he becomes utterly unable to save himself and his family from the pangs of hunger.

If we come to consider the situation from the point of view of the Isneg, it is not to be wondered at that nowadays famines are of rather frequent occurrence in Apayaw. Indeed, foreign authorities have invaded the land: not understanding the position of the Isneg with reference to the tutelary spirits of the country, they have all but extirpated headhunting. What can be expected after this? Being denied their usual offerings, the spirits stop protecting the crops. It is true that the Isneg does not cease to propitiate them by all possible means, but the great sacrifice has been rendered almost impossible, and so the fields have become a prey to evil imps, while the protectors of the rice, the purveyors of the Isneg, have become either powerless or indifferent.

Nevertheless, under ordinary circumstances, the average Isneg raises enough rice to last him and his family for a year. He may not be able to store it up for future consumption, but what he has usually keeps him alive from one harvest to the next, and besides almost always allows him to offer an occasional sacrifice to the spirits and to invite his relatives and neighbors to the ceremony. Such is the normal state of affairs with the great majority of the people.

Now in almost every agglomeration one will find at least one man who is styled "rich" (*ba-nán*), a man who raises rice in abundance (*aragammáy*) and consequently is able to offer one or more solemn sacrifices every year and to provide food to the inhabitants of several villages for days at a time. However, these so-called rich people do not fare any better than the average citizen, as their surplus is easily consumed at their *sáy-ám* or solemn sacrifices.

On the other hand, there are always a few who may be called poor (*nakimrút*): their rice, if they raise any at all, never lasts them the whole year round, and, in the meanwhile, they have to content themselves with Indian corn, yams, taro and the rest; but only in times of famine, are they obliged to feed on coconut flowers and other outlandish foods. Others again seem never to be able to make both ends meet: these are the *síbud*; their rice, which should be sufficient for ordinary persons, is usually gone almost before they are aware of it,

women around, while the men are in bathing and swimming together, they keep thir private parts covered with one hand while they are out of the water.

Community spirit in a *barangay* is strong. They have common interests and often work together in exchange of labor, *pinta*. When one builds a house all the neighbors come and help, making a party of it.

Each *barangay* is surrounded by a heavy bamboo picket stockade. The bamboos are filled with small stones so they can not be easily cut away. A *barangay* has all the other *barangays* as enemies; but a peace-pact, *budong*, is often made between two of them. Peace-pact holders are appointed and held personally responsible that it is not broken. Each *barangay* is held accountable for the acts of any of its members. Then they are allies, helping each other in warfare and being mutually responsible for each other's property and personal safety. There is danger of forays at anytime from other barangays. So war is always imminent. There maybe old feuds to be settled and deaths to be avenged. This is augmented by the fact that each warrior must take at least one head to establish himself, both in society and in the heart of the girl whom he desires.

HEAD HUNTING

When the demand either for revenge or for heads becomes strong, the *maingel* gives the order for a head hunting expedition to the enemy *barangay* selected. He will probably be the leader of the expedition. The warriors who are to go, prepare their weapons: shields, spears, and a special *aliwa*, which has the point on the cutting edge drawn out to make it more effective.

It is called a *gaod*. The people down stream use bows 721
and arrows, knowledge of which they have learned 411
from the Negritos. When all are ready, they gather 726
and hold a feast called a *magboto* to which their *anito*. *Manglangbang*, is invited. Manglangbang is the fierce *anito* who guides the warriors. He directs them whom to kill. Upon his order a warrior must even kill a companion. At the *magboto* the warriors swear to stand by each other, and a dog is killed, which a warrior carries on their journey, *cavao*, to the place of the enemy.

At the close of the *magboto* the warrior band sets 726
out. It is followed for a distance by the women, who shout. The warriors also shout and continue on their journey guided by the *anito*, *Panugtang*. As they enter the country of the enemy, the warriors move silently and keep under cover, for the attack must be a complete surprise. Upon arriving near the place of the enemy, the warriors hide in the forest, cooking their food with fire concealed, and in that place pass the night.

While it is still dark, the party moves up and silently surrounds the *barangay* of the enemy. They keep well-hidden until the occupants start to come out. Those going to their fields or on other errands are ambushed and their heads taken. The object of the [721]
expedition is to take as many heads as possible. All heads have the same value; those of men, women, children or babies, whether taken in a fair fight or by stealth. Each one has the required magical vital energy. There may be quite a fight, with numbers of 727
warriors killed or wounded on both sides. Occasion-